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626 hardest labor will be gladly accepted in order to avoid shame, which
558 to an Isneg seems to be a kind of synthesis of all evils. That is also
578 the reason why ridicule is such a powerful weapon among the Isneg. For fear of ridicule a man will cover himself modestly when appearing in the presence of women, and miscreants will resort to ridicule in order to induce a young man to commit the worst crimes. No Isneg can stand ridicule.

626 Among the Isneg pride and ambition are only second to shame as incentives for being virtuous and conducting oneself honorably; nevertheless they are far from having the same power as shame, and parents will use them in a much smaller degree than the latter motive.
[461] The indolence of the Isneg has considerably lessened the power of ambition and pride as a motive for complying with the tenets of their moral code.

And so also praise and encouragement, although they rarely fail to help an Isneg youngster onward on the path of duty, are much less powerful than the all-feared ridicule. Isneg parents, however, are very well aware of the fact that a little occasional praise and a timely word of encouragement will rarely fail to be appreciated by the child, and that they will often do very much for the latter's betterment or the continuance of its right behavior.

Flattery is not so much in their line, and it is comparatively rarely resorted to in order to make a young man or woman behave decently. In the case of smaller children, however, it will often be used with the best of results.

The hope of a reward is not always as powerful as the fear of punishment, at least in the case of the little ones. But allow me to reserve the treatment of this subject for one of the following paragraphs.

3. Methods of Training

361 I shall not enter here into a large number of details with reference
• 867 to the methods used in the training of children, as very much has been said already in my lengthy treatment of the moral code. I shall
[881] go over the whole matter rather quickly, the more so as there is no question of initiation or puberty rites among the Isneg.

[602] Although elders, whosoever they be, may occasionally take a hand in the training of children, nevertheless this task devolves principally on the parents, and to a certain extent also on the grandparents. The tribe or community as such has little or nothing to do with the moral upbringing of the younger members of any given settlement.

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Not only the absence of initiation ceremonies, but even that of any customs that might aim to teach or mold moral conduct, as dieting, fasting and so on, is a great drawback to the efficient training of Isneg youth. I repeat it, young people are taught to avoid hardship much more than to get inured to it, and this seemingly has much to do with keeping our Isneg in habitual indolence, and rendering them easily dejected at the smallest difficulty or the slightest pain.

Here now I shall enumerate the virtues and acts of virtue that are formally taught according to the Isneg moral code, and those that are less formally taught, and shall give a few supplementary details. It should be stated once for all that all, or almost all, training in this line is done directly; I mean that the Isneg rarely, if ever, use stories or fables in order to inculcate the principles that regulate moral conduct. Some of their tales might perhaps have such a very desirable effect, but the generality have not, and I really wonder if, even in the case of those that have a kind of moral attached to them, the Isneg really use them for the purpose of teaching right behavior. The tales seem to be much more a means of teaching the youngsters the traditions of the race, especially with reference to spirits and kindred subjects, and very often also they are simply a pastime for people who have few means of diversion and amusement.

The teaching of religious practices has been explained at length in a preceding paragraph, and here I have nothing to add on that subject. Headhunting as a duty has rarely been taught ex professo: all the traditions of the people and the paramount importance of this custom in the life of an Isneg tended formerly to impress it very strongly upon the mind of the child. Actually of course the taking of heads, which is fast disappearing, has no more the same appeal to the members of the younger generation; so this part of the Isneg moral code is bound to lapse sooner or later, provided the Government can keep the people in control for a sufficiently long period of time. This is what happened with the Ibaloy, among whom by this time headhunting is an unknown quantity, and with the Kankanay, among whom the same custom is almost completely rooted out.

Obedience and respect for their elders is very formally taught to the children, not only by father and mother, but also by other members of the older generation. Besides small boys and girls learn by practical experience the necessity of obeying and respecting their elders, as it is not a rare occurrence to see a whipping follow in the wake of a transgression of this most important duty of a child.

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867 Loyalty to friends and generosity are also made the subject of special teaching on the part of Isneg parents. Occasions do not fail in which the latter explain to their offspring the ugliness of avariciousness and of lack of open-handedness.

867 576 Gratitude, however, is rarely mentioned. Does an Isneg perhaps consider this virtue as a necessary sequel of one's duty of being loyal to a friend in need? Whatever goes on in their mind, the Isneg are certainly not very demonstrative about it. They seem to take a kindness among friends as a matter of course, and they are perhaps not very far from the truth. I am thoroughly convinced though that gratitude is very well known and also practised among our Isneg, but a white man would sometimes prefer to see or hear a little more about it. I repeat it, the Isneg are over-stingy in their expressions of gratitude, and formulas such as "thank you" and so on are unknown to them.

On the other hand the duty of hospitality is very expressly taught to every Isneg boy and girl, and the consequences that are liable to result from lack of hospitality on the part of an Isneg married woman are known to everybody; such a misdemeanor may be a sufficient reason for an Isneg husband to divorce his wife.

867 577 558 To take revenge and to sustain a quarrel are signs of courage in the eyes of an Isneg, and the latter virtue is esteemed and highly praised by all. In his eyes nobody deserves more ridicule than a coward, and such a person usually gets an ample share of the same. Although quarreling and anger as such are considered as bad, everything depends on the reason why, so that rightful anger and maintaining one's rights despite everything are absolutely required in a man who does not want to be called timid. Control of one's temper in many instances would be synonymous with cowardice. All this is so firmly ingrained in the Isneg mind that no formal teaching is necessary. A youngster will ever be applauded for his courage and will be encouraged to go ahead, if he takes revenge after having sustained some injury, if he leaves nothing undone to keep the right on his side while engaged in a dispute, and if he is angry without going into extremes any time that he is firmly convinced that he is not wrong.

867 577 Laziness does not need any special reproof, as every young man and every girl know through daily experience the necessity of forestalling any bad reputation on the subject, lest marriage be either postponed indefinitely or, if already contracted, broken asunder without mercy. With reference to the smaller children, the necessity of

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obedience forcibly impresses upon their minds at the same time their duty of being diligent at work, as the parents do not fail to take them along when attending to their daily tasks, as soon as the youngsters are able to lend a helping hand. 867 577

Modesty, chastity, conjugal fidelity and temperance are virtues that are frequently subjects of very special teaching. Just as obedience is an ordinary topic of conversation when talking with the little ones, so the aforementioned virtues are often mentioned when young people receive some admonition or warning on the part of their parents. Besides, the knowledge of the consequences of immorality with unfortunate results and the punishment it entails helps not a little to deter Isneg youth from indulging in such excesses. After all this, it would be superfluous to tell young people of both sexes to sleep apart: the girls mostly attend to that without any special warning. In Bontok there are common dormitories for girls as well as for boys, and in many other places in the Mountain Province every village has its boys' dormitories. These institutions, which probably were originally planned as a safeguard to the morals of the young on account of the smallness of the huts of the natives, have since degenerated into haunts of vice. Among the Isneg the houses are fortunately large enough to keep the whole family together, so that the parents can watch the youngsters at leisure, if they choose to do so. Nevertheless the absence of rooms renders complete control very difficult. Although the Isneg have not to contend with the Bontok brothels, if I may call these girls' dormitories by such an ugly name, which in my opinion and experience they amply deserve, still they have not yet attained to perfection under this respect on account of the absence of separate rooms in their comparatively large and commodious dwellings. 867 836

Temperance in eating and drinking, although perhaps not so frequently inculcated as modesty, chastity and the rest, are nevertheless very clearly taught, especially to the boys; while the teaching of chastity as we understand it is, in the case of the Isneg, reduced to that of decent relations between the sexes. Sins against nature are never mentioned. Self-pollution is probably practised occasionally by some members of the male sex. Of other sins in that line I have never heard anything; by which of course I do not want to deny their existence, but simply to state that they are certainly not indulged in frequently and less so openly, as otherwise they would certainly have come to my notice. 867 577 576

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867 577 Honesty and truthfulness are subjects of very frequent training, especially the latter. Rarely a day passes without hearing some denunciation of the vice of lying from the mouth of an Isneg, and children are really brought up in an atmosphere of honesty and truth: this cannot be denied, although a lie in their eyes has not exactly the same meaning as with us. A lie, as defined by an Isneg, would mean something like this: "uselessly to tell an untruth to a friend", in this way excluding from its definition the telling of an untruth in order to avoid difficulties or in order to save a friend, and the deception practised on the Ibanag and their kindred.

An Isneg child is deterred from boasting mostly through ridicule, while talebearing, which is called treason, and jealousy form less frequent subjects of teaching.

Youngsters have not to be taught *ex professo* that killing among friends is a terrible crime. Loyalty to friends and related subjects are sufficiently explained without the necessity of including such a hateful crime among the usual prohibitions: if you have to be loyal to your friends, your first duty of course is to respect their life.

861 867 626 I have been talking freely about Isneg training and teaching, but when and where is youth educated and instructed in the tenets of the moral code? Well, at any time. This is a very indefinite answer indeed, but the time and place of teaching is at least equally indefinite. An Isneg parent may instruct his offspring when at home, he may do so while at work in the field; Isneg know nothing about school periods, no bells are used among them in order to go over from one exercise to another, there are neither watches nor clocks in Isneg houses, and to an Isneg time is not money. Nevertheless formal training mostly coincides with some special happening; a breach of the moral code, whether committed by outsiders or by the children themselves, or some extraordinary act of virtue, are the most frequent occasions in which the precepts of Isneg morality are instilled into the minds of the young.

861 626 Scolding,—which in many cases is exceedingly severe and covers the culprit with shame in the face of the whole neighborhood,—and other punishments are frequently resorted to regulate the conduct of children. Corporal punishments take place only in the case of the smaller children, while the fear of being scolded is a frequent deterrent for boys and girls of every age. The former consist in slapping the head, the cheeks, the shoulders, the back or the buttocks, in whipping the buttocks or the legs, thighs and calves, in twisting

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855 comes for the boys to follow their father and for the girls to be left to her care. The best viands are always reserved for the little ones and dainties are stored away (*maxalúmid*) for their future use. If a child gets sick, the parents will do their utmost to relieve the little sufferer; and if it is its fate, as the Isneg put it, to die, its elders' lamentations will follow it to the grave.

731 In times of famine the children are of course the biggest sufferers, not that the Isneg does not share with them whatever food he can lay 858 hands on, but because growing boys and girls lack the sustenance they badly need at their age, which rarely fails to be followed by 597 results that affect them unfavorably for the rest of their life. I have heard once of a hard-pressed Isneg who sold a child for money: this is certainly a rare exception, and, as all circumstances are not known to me (I am not even sure that it was his own child), I am not free to pronounce judgment on the transaction. What I know is that the family by whom the child was adopted would certainly not cause it to regret its former life, as far as material advantages are concerned; nevertheless this is not a sufficient excuse for such an act.

855 It may be asked if families differ much in their solicitude for the proper moral upbringing of children, if some families are more reli- 867 gious-minded than others, if some families are more concerned than 184 others in watching over their children and in safeguarding them in sex morality. What can I answer to such questions? I should like 124 to make the following invitation to my inquirers: let them choose a certain district of the United States, say in Kansas or in Indiana or in whatever state they prefer, a district where there are no densely populated sections and where some ten thousand people are scattered over a comparatively large area, and then let them tell me the result of their investigations among inhabitants of that district with reference to the above questions. I am sure that their task would not be easier or more difficult than mine, in order to give a satisfactory survey of the situation. Nevertheless I shall try to give a few concrete instances that have come to my personal notice and which I can recall just now, leaving aside the Kankanay, among whom I resided from 1909 to 1915, and confining myself exclusively to the Isneg, with whom I have been living since 1925.

855 Take the settlement of Baliwanan. A Baliwanan girl was living 184 with the family of my catechist at Kabugaw, where she took care of the children, washed the clothes, and did other little chores. On a 836 certain day somebody told her father that a boy had entered the house

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up a good many friendships, and it is the starting point of not a few quarrels among them. Voluntary talebearing, by which I mean here reporting to the interested person the gossip that somebody has spread about him, is, as far as I can judge about the matter, rather rare, at least among men.

Drunkenness is a vice that is mostly indulged in only at the time of some *sáy-dm* or other sacrifice, and this mostly by old men. Comparing their use of intoxicating drinks with what I have seen in civilized countries, I should say that the Isneg is a temperate man. Nevertheless theory is stricter than practice, except in the case of youth.

Three points are still to be considered now, namely: chastity, honesty and truthfulness.

And first as to chastity and the virtues related to it. Complete nudity is habitual among youngsters under six years of age; the little coat usually worn even by small boys, is not sufficiently long to cover them decently. Such nakedness is not considered shameful as long as the children are small; nevertheless there is some ground for concluding that it may have an effect upon sex behavior. Indeed small children are very after tickled (*magkurira-, kurirkán*) in order to cause them to laugh, and this tickling is very commonly practised on or near the genitals, not only by the parents, but also by young boys and girls; especially in the case of small boys, the principal use of their penis seems to be that of being fingered by every passer-by.

As soon as the child is able to lisp a few words, the pronunciation by the child of any obscene term that finds its way into the child's vocabulary is greeted with laughter; and if later on foul language is heard to proceed from the small boy's mouth, he is applauded for his cleverness instead of being chastised for his forwardness. Little girls are usually brought up in a less dirty atmosphere, as the mother takes care of them almost exclusively as soon as they are able to walk; but little or no separation of the sexes at night is insisted upon during the first years of the little Isneg's life.

Everything considered, the sight of nudity in both sexes, touching of one another's genitals without reproof, the early excitation of the boys' genitals through indecent handling by older children and adults, the use of dirty speech without the least restraint and almost with encouragement, all these combined can do nothing else but detract from the efficiency of subsequent teaching on sex morality. The existence of the term *kassár* seems to support my inference; *kassár*

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867 means "to suffer erection", and is used only of boys and girls who
831 have not yet attained the age of puberty; another term is in use for adults.

And so we have reached the period between the age at which the
867 little one wears lower garments for the first time and that of puberty.
834 Formal teaching about the first elements of sex morality usually starts
291 about this time, and so little girls of this age are generally very modest, although boys are not so meticulous. Provided they are
858 circumcised, the latter do not mind very much exposing their naked
183 body, and even when as yet uncircumcised, there is no comparison between their behavior and that of their modest little sisters. For the rest much freedom still exists, as my reference to the special term just explained seems to indicate, so that it might be called a miracle if the youngsters live a chaste life once they have attained the age
[835] of puberty. Recently a young man of some eighteen years old was arrested for having violated his little sister who is barely six years old; he said he wanted "to try".

836 Grown-up girls are of course much better in this respect than boys,
183 and both sexes usually observe the laws of modesty that have been taught them by their parents according to the Isneg code; but in
577 general I think that the morals of young people are decidedly loose.
867 *Magdaldallâw* (joking one another, boys and girls), *magkabbâl* (to finger a girl's breasts; said only of boys), and similar terms, seem to indicate that the teaching of their elders is not very successful. Add to this that young men have free access at night to all houses where girls of marriageable age may be found, and it will not be wondered at that chastity is a rare flower among Isneg youth.

836 The fear of pregnancy and of its consequences is of course a great
183 deterrent to young people of both sexes, but, even leaving aside the question of self-pollution, simple fornication must not be so exceed-
867 ingly rare after all. It is true that my informants usually assure me that coitus is never practised among unengaged boys and girls of mature age; but this in my opinion cannot be accepted without a grain of salt. Indeed, the same men have also told me at first that continence is imposed upon engaged couples before their marriage, but I have learned since that the latter are free to sleep together as often as they wish even though none of the usual ceremonies has yet been performed,—and this I now know to be a universal custom all over Apayaw.

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Not so long ago I opened two dormitories for High School students, one for boys and one for girls. These young people came here directly from their villages, for the most part without having received as yet any serious Christian instruction. Since that time I have been inclined more than once to stop the whole affair; at any rate I shall certainly never again accept them indiscriminately. If I had to watch them strictly only on one side, it would not be so bad; but when even some of the girls have to be kept under close surveillance, the situation becomes almost intolerable. The dormitories had barely been started, when I had to expel one boy and one girl: it was not simply a matter of the boy writing love letters, with the girl answering them; but he openly proposed in writing to sleep with her, and the girl consented, also in writing, and gave a date for their future meeting.

Recently one of the girls from the girls' dormitory told me that, at the time she was still studying in her home village, a few of her classmates had absolutely refused to study the prayers (to prepare for baptism), and this for the following reason: "If we were Christians we should not be allowed any more to sleep with the boys at night [using each other's arm for a pillow; not: performing coitus], and this we cannot endure". The last part of this sentence is here put down textually, just as I heard it.

Coeducation which obtains in the public schools helps not a little to take away the small restraint that native Isneg teaching may have produced, and the example of persons who should show them better ways is sometimes far from being an aid to our frail young people on the arduous path of purity and chastity.

Nevertheless children born out of wedlock are the exception. How can we explain this? There is no question of contraceptive measures or voluntary abortion as far as I know, so the reason has to be found elsewhere. This state of affairs may be explained either by the practice of solitary vice or by marriage subsequent on the pregnancy of the girl in every case. Now the latter explanation is in my opinion more often concordant with the actual facts than the former. The boys go to *mamabáy* (court the girls) early in life, and they may have had sex relations very often before the dreaded result occurred. Besides Isneg boys and girls marry very early, and they are allowed to sleep together as soon as they are engaged, so that it is an easy matter to arrange everything in such a way as not to cause the child to be considered as born out of wedlock. Public education as it is in

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183 178 177 vogue here now tends to retard marriage; but its introduction is still too recent and it is still too much the privilege of the few, to be able sensibly to affect the standard of morality among our Isneg.

837 183 184 As to conjugal fidelity, it may be said that an unfaithful wife is the exception among the Isneg; but with reference to the men, the situation is not so bright. Even polygyny is not always sufficient to put a curb to the husband's license: indeed only the rich can afford to take more than one wife, and these at the same time usually enjoy the greatest freedom on account of their wealth and social influence.

577 183 171 836 To sum up the situation, it may be said that open immorality and indecency is much less frequent among the Isneg than among several other Mountain tribes, but, although more or less well concealed, loose morals are rather the rule than the exception among young unmarried people, and among married people the state of affairs leaves much to be desired. "Doing that which may make a girl pregnant" is not what the Isneg abhors, but "making a girl actually pregnant".

577 183 685 858 867 With reference to honesty, the Isneg generally observes the rules laid down by his own code, and transgressions are rare. Isneg thieves are not at all common, and downright robbery, even from the Ibanag or the *idammán* (enemies of his own tribe), is a rare occurrence. This is true of children as well as of adults, although the former may occasionally try to pilfer fruits or other eatables, in which, nevertheless, they are never encouraged by their elders, who rarely fail to scold them and even to punish them.

577 867 158 183 811 Truthfulness also is quite ordinary among adult Isneg, but many youngsters need frequent correction on the subject. In this connection, however, we should bear in mind the existence of two inveterate habits not only among the Isneg, but also among the generality of Malays with whom I have come in contact. And first, whenever he is caught at something that might elicit from you even the smallest reprimand, he has always an excuse ready at the tip of his tongue, and any excuse will do, however preposterous it may be; he never reasons about it, the truth is not what he aims at, but the plain presentation of an excuse, be it real or imaginary. These people are certainly experts in that line.

577 158 183 811 Just to give a few examples. One day I was very much astonished to find that all my bananas had disappeared, although they were carefully stored away in a closed press, so I suspected, and not without reason, that one of my Isneg boys had found them to his taste. At the first occasion I bluntly asked the fellow what had happened to

The Common Law enjoins that man must not: steal, tell false stories of others, court the wife of another, nor make trouble at a feast. It further enjoins that a man must respect the rights of individuals, give food to visitors, give aid to neighbors, and that parents shall teach children the old customs and legends, as well as correct them in order that they may grow up properly. 685 683 684 689 867

The Apayaos have a very complete system of social etiquette which might be characteristic of a high culture. It displays a nice sense of fitness and an innate kindliness of nature. Hispitable customs make the visitor's stay a happy one. There is even no embarrassing sense of indebtedness for gifts of service or materials to be expressed: for the people have no word meaning "thank you" in their dialect. When one goes on a journey, there is no word meaning "goodbye": no sad word of farewell. One just walks away as if he were going down to the river to take a bath. When he returns, even after a long absence there is no word of greeting. He is treated just as if he had only come back from taking his bath. As a matter of fact he may have; for it is the custom to take a bath in the last river crossed before reaching home. 576 192 515

The people keep their houses and surrounding grounds clean and neat. Clothing is kept washed, and daily baths in the river are taken. The bark of the *taplet* tree is used for cleansing purpose. 356 515 824

The Apayaos are remarkedly modest about their persons. A woman must not allow her legs to spread when squatting to a sitting position nor allow her tapis to go above her knees. Even when there are no 516 834 834